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IV. — *Metrical Observations on a Northumbrianized Version of the Old English Judith.*<sup>1</sup>

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THE attempt to restore a poem to the dialect in which it was originally written, and from which it is supposed to have been afterwards transcribed, is not wholly unprecedented. R. Payne Knight undertook this for Homer in his *Carmina Homerica, Ilias et Odyssea*, 1820, and has been followed in our day by Fick (*Die homerische Odyssee*, 1883 ; *Die homerische Ilias*, 1886). A similar endeavor to reconstruct the original strophic form of *Béowulf* was made a few years ago by Möller (*Das Altenglische Volksepos in der ursprünglichen strophischen Form*, 1883). It is needless to specify the services which such a version, if properly made, is capable of rendering to scholarship. For our purpose it will be preferable to measure the results which, in the subjoined text, have been obtained on the basis of phonology and inflexion alone, by subjecting them to the independent test of prosody. The metrical laws of Old English have at length been made out with sufficient accuracy (Sievers, *Zur Rhythmik des Germanischen Alliterationsverses*, in *Paul und Braune's Beiträge*, Bd. X), and have been applied to our poem by Karl Luick (*Paul und Braune's Beiträge*, XI 470-492 ; cf. my new edition of *Judith*, pp. lv-lxxi). Assuming that these are well known, I will at once proceed to record the metrical observations on the Northumbrianized version of *Judith*, which may be easily verified by any student for himself.

1. In the vast majority of hemistichs the metre remains entirely unchanged.

2. The metrical necessity for the syncope of middle vowels in the cases established by Sievers (PB. X 459 ff.) is fully confirmed by many instances in our version. Thus, *éadgo*, 35<sup>a</sup>; *módga*, 52<sup>b</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> The text of the Northumbrian version accompanied this paper, but, to save space, is omitted here. It may be readily found by referring to the second revised and enlarged edition of the *Judith*, published by D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

hálge, 56<sup>b</sup>; hæðna, 98<sup>b</sup>; hæðna, 110<sup>a</sup>; hálga, 160<sup>b</sup>; hæðnes, 179<sup>a</sup>; hálga, 203<sup>b</sup>.

3. In other instances the metre is rendered more regular by the substitution of vowels long by position for the short vowels of the manuscript; in other words, a proper iambic, trochaic, dactylic, or other rhythm, with a long vowel to bear the ictus, takes the place of a kind of logæedic rhythm, in which two short vowels stand, by resolution, in the place of the single long one. Thus, for example, snotra (snottra?), 55<sup>a</sup>, becomes a trochee; beadw-, 175<sup>b</sup>, becomes, instead of beadu-, the end of a foot anapæstic in its general character; niol-, 113<sup>a</sup>, becomes the long syllable of an anapæst; salwig-, 211<sup>a</sup>, becomes a trochee; beadwe, 213<sup>a</sup>, cwicra, 235<sup>a</sup>, 324<sup>a</sup>, -frætwad, 329<sup>b</sup>, -feðra, 210<sup>b</sup>, are all trochees. The loss of the final *e* in the first element of certain compounds has a similar effect: thus hyg-, 131<sup>a</sup>, becomes a monosyllabic foot, and sig-, 295<sup>a</sup>, the long syllable of an anapæst. In like manner, the first syllable of herpað, 303<sup>b</sup>, in the ordinary version, must be considered as long by Sweet, who otherwise would naturally have emended it to her-, as phonological law has required in the Northumbrian version. Another example of hyg- is found in 303<sup>a</sup>, where it forms the first syllable of a foot having the form  $\angle \simeq \times$ . Hypesæx, 328<sup>a</sup>, is doubtful; perhaps hup- should remain.

4. The dropping of final *e* in the pronouns hir and ðær has a similar effect upon the metre. Feet are shortened, with advantage to the regularity of the metre, in 99<sup>b</sup>, 123<sup>b</sup>, 124<sup>b</sup>, 130<sup>b</sup>, 149<sup>a</sup>, 149<sup>b</sup>, 167<sup>a</sup>, 175<sup>b</sup>, 286<sup>b</sup>, 327<sup>a</sup>, 335<sup>b</sup>, 341<sup>b</sup>; in the anacrusis, 5<sup>b</sup>. Hir appears to be sometimes long, and sometimes short; it is long in 5<sup>b</sup>, 99<sup>b</sup>, 335<sup>b</sup>, short in 123<sup>b</sup>, 130<sup>b</sup>, 149<sup>a</sup>, 175<sup>a</sup>.

5. The change in the form of a verb converts a trochee to a cyclic dactyl in 9<sup>a</sup>, 11<sup>a</sup>, a first pæon to a dactyl in 278<sup>a</sup>, and increases the number of unstressed syllables by one in the first foot of 117<sup>b</sup>: ne ðorfeð hé hopiga nó, like Beów. 392 (PB. X 239), ðæt hé éower æðelu can, and Beów. 1213, héo fore ðæm werede spræc.

6. In 324<sup>b</sup> and 325<sup>b</sup>, an anapæst followed by an iambus becomes anapæst + anapæst, which is a common form (PB. X 240).

7. The substitution of plur. flondas for fynd does not seem to cause a transgression of metrical law. Thus, in 320<sup>b</sup>, flondas oferwunnen resembles the cases under 11 in PB. X 230, and stands or falls with them; flondas sindon fuera, 195<sup>b</sup>, would be admissible on the same terms, were it not that fuera is a trisyllable; but perhaps we should be justified in reading fura.

8. In one instance, double trochee changes to the type  $\angle \times | \angle \times$ : *bord* and *brád swordas*, 318<sup>a</sup>. Whether *scírméled swordas*, 230<sup>b</sup>, of the form  $\angle \times | \angle \times$ , can be allowed to stand, I leave for others to determine; it is found exceptionally in the first hemistich (PB. X 310), but apparently not in the second.

9. The rime is often unaffected by the phonetic changes undergone by both riming words. Thus *hiorde*: *gestíorde* is as good a rime as *hyrde*: *gestýrde*, 60; so *néasa*: *forléasa*, 63. In other cases the rime is actually improved, as in *-ræste*: *-hlæste*, 36; *fleg-*: *fég-*, 47; *swíra*: *swíma*, 106. In line 2 the conversion of *funde* to *fand* destroys the rime, but of this we shall speak under a subsequent head.

10. Hiatus is more frequent, through the loss of final *n*, though this is a matter of no importance in Old English prosody. Examples occur in 15<sup>b</sup>, 18<sup>b</sup>, 42<sup>b</sup>, 64<sup>a</sup>, 114<sup>b</sup>, 120<sup>b</sup>, 154<sup>a</sup>, 243<sup>a</sup>, 348<sup>a</sup>.

11. Alliteration is destroyed by the substitution of *geéad* for *gegán* in lines 140 and 219. Could Northumbrian poetry have had its peculiar form, differing from that of prose?

12. Metre is apparently destroyed in three cases, 132<sup>b</sup>, 135<sup>b</sup>, and 272<sup>a</sup>. A stressed short syllable is inadmissible in *ðqna* and *hære* of the final foot, and similarly the first syllable of *ðolende* should be long. We may conceive of the latter as possible by means of secondary lengthening, but *ðqna* and *hære* can only be emended for metrical purposes in the manner actually adopted by the manuscript text. *Hærige* could easily be restored in the Northumbrian version on the analogy of other forms (cf. l. 294), but *ðanonne* (*ðanone*, *ðqnane*) must have been coined for prosodical reasons. One is inclined to assume a similar coinage or adaptation in the case of *funde* (9, above). True, it is common in West Saxon prose (Cosijn, *Altwestsächsische Grammatik*, II § 84), yet its adoption may have been determined or influenced by poetic considerations in the first place. As it stands, this line is hopelessly unmetrical, and could not be restored except by replacing *funde*.